

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL WORKS.

By PROF. DR. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

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THE LANGUAGES OF CHINA

BEFORE THE CHINESE.

RESEARCHES ON THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE
PRE-CHINESE RACES OF CHINA PROPER
PREVIOUSLY TO THE CHINESE
OCCUPATION.

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TAIPEI

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Bak tribes from the west of Asia,¹ reached the country, some twenty-three centuries before the Christian era, the region was already inhabited by several races. Altaic tribes from the North had come South to the basin of the Yellow River, and had fallen in with populations of southern origin. The arrival of the Chinese was no more than a repetition of previous events, followed by many of the same kind. They came, according to all probability, slowly along the north-west route through the modern province of Kansuh;² but they could not pass the southern bend of the Yellow River, as they were prevented from so doing by the stronghold of former invaders from the north, the Jungs. They were compelled to turn northwards, and they then crossed the river about the latitude of Tai-yuen, from whence they established themselves in Shansi and W. Tchihli, with the eastern course of the same river as southern boundary, for several centuries.

14. When Shun, the semi-mythical emperor (2043-1990 B.C.),³ whose deeds form the second chapter of the *Shu-King*, made his famous tour of inspection in the South, he did not go further south than was permitted by the bend of the Yellow River. The region within this extreme corner (S.W. Shansi), whence the natives had been dislodged by his predecessor Yao (2146-2043 B.C.), became the favourite seat of successive leaders. The sea-shore was not actually reached before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the power of the new-comers began only to be felt south of the Yellow River under the reign of the great Yü and in a limited area, though the river had been crossed before his time under the fourth leader, Kao-sin. But we have not to relate here the history of the growth, so remarkable, though so slow, of the Chinese nation, and we are concerned with it

¹ Some archaic inscriptions on rocks in Southern Siberia, near Abalansk, on the banks of the upper course of the Yenissei, may be traces of their passage eastwards. These inscriptions, still undeciphered, are written in Chinese of the most archaic kind. They were published by J. Spassky, *De Antiquis quibusdam sculpturis et inscriptionibus in Siberia repertis*, Petropoli, 1822.

² The burial-place of their first leader in China was near the modern Ning, on the common south border of Kansuh and Shensi.

³ According to the chronology built up from the Annals of Bamboo books.

only so far as we can find some information concerning the languages of the former occupiers of the soil. We are also concerned with the Chinese languages only so far as in ancient and modern times they show traces of influence of the aborigines.

15. The position of the early Chinese emigrants (the Bak tribes) towards the native populations was peculiar, and explains away many of the illusions long entertained by their descendants regarding the supposed greatness of their beginnings. Unlike the other invaders from the North, they were civilized. It is now well shown that in their former homes in S.W. Asia, west of the Hindukush, the Bak tribes had been under the neighbouring influence of the civilization of Susiana, an offshoot of that of Babylon. Through an intercourse of some length, they, or at least their leaders, had learned the elements of the arts, sciences and government, among which the writing, which we are now enabled to identify as a derivative of the cursive and not of the monumental cuneiform style, was conspicuous¹

16. Their comparatively high culture when they settled in the Flowery Land, and the better organization which ensued, soon secured for them a dominant standing and position over the native tribes, occupying as they were a lower standard in the scale of civilization. Some tribes acknowledged readily their supremacy, and were befriended from the beginning, while others strongly objected to any interference on the part of the new comers. Their names

¹ Cf. T. de L.: *Early History of Chinese Civilization* (London, 1880, 8vo.). *The Yü-King*, in *The Athenaeum*, 21 Jan., 9, 30 Sept., 1882. *Chinese and Akkadian Affinities*, in *The Academy*, 20 Jan. 1883. *Early Chinese Literature*, *ibid.* 28 July, 1883. *The Affinity of the Ten Stems of the Chinese Cycle with the Akkadian Numerals*, *ibid.* 1 Sept., 1883. *The Chinese Mythical Kings and the Babylonian Canon*, *ibid.* 6 Oct., 1883. *Traditions of Babylonia in Early Chinese Documents*, *ibid.* 17 Nov. 1883. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese and its Authors*, in *J.R.A.S.* vol. xiv. part iv.; vol. xv. parts ii. and iv. *Babylonian and Old Chinese Measures*, in *The Academy*, 10 Oct., 1885. *Babylonia and China*, *ibid.* 7 Aug., 1886. *Beginnings of Writing*, I. § 50; II. § 114, etc. This discovery, important for the philosophy of history, of the non-indigeness of the Chinese civilization, and its derivation from the old Chaldaeo-Babylonian focus of culture by the medium of Susiana, is scientifically established in the above publications. However, in order to make it more accessible than it may be in these scattered papers, I will soon put forward all the proofs together in a special book, with many more facts than those hitherto published.

appear successively in history in proportion as the Chinese advanced either by their political domination or by intrusion as colonists. We cannot here enter into the details of the inquiry, upon which we have been able to ascertain, in many cases with probability, their place in a classification. It requires a study of their modern representatives, coupled with that of the fragmentary traditions, small historical facts, and scraps of information gathered about their racial and linguistic characteristics. An exposition of all these makes a volume of itself, so that we are compelled to curtail our remarks more than the comprehensiveness of the case would require.

IV. CHINESE AND ABORIGINES.

17. The policy of the Chinese towards the previous occupiers of the soil, which was imposed upon them as a necessity by the surrounding circumstances, and which has so much contributed to the formation of their national character, has always been, with few exceptions, strictly followed. They have, as a rule, always attempted to befriend them, and they had recourse to coercion and conquest only when compelled to do so by the aggressiveness of the tribes. It must be admitted in favour of the latter that the exertions of Chinese officials in later times, where and when they had accepted the Imperial protectorate, have often caused them to rebel.

As soon as they arrived in the Flowery Land, the Chinese began to spread individually or in groups according to their well-known practice of gradual occupation by slow infiltration. It is by this slow and informal advance of colonists among the non-Chinese populations of the country, and their reporting to their government, that some glowing accounts were got up of the Chinese dominion on large tracts of country over which they had no hold whatever.

18. Should we be satisfied, considering them as representing the primitive population of the Flowery Land, to take notice of the tribes as they came successively under

the Chinese ken in proportion to their advance east and south, the chief difficulty would consist only in the scantiness of information; but the obscurities and difficulties are complicated by the continuous arrival of northern tribes. They could slip through the scattered settlements and strongholds of the Chinese, and those of them who objected to accept the Chinese yoke were compelled to go southwards, where they could either swell the number of those banished or of others who were discontented with Chinese authority, or join the independent native tribes. Those among these tribes, recently arrived in the country or not, who were settled among the Chinese scattered posts and strongholds, or who were in proximity to their dominion, used to satisfy the proud authority of the Celestial government by an apparent submission and acknowledgment more or less sincere of its suzerainty.¹

19. They were divided into small principalities, whose chiefs generally enjoyed Chinese titles of office or nobility, and which occasionally, or better frequently, could form an offensive coalition when their independence was imperilled by the pressure of the Chinese growth and power. The pressure, however, became too strong for them and they had to yield before the Chinese advance, though always attempting by compromise or open resistance to hold their own ground on some point or other, more south or south-westwards. Those who objected to absorption were partly destroyed, partly expelled, and progressively driven southwards.² Some were removed by the conquerors, and many tribes, now broken and scattered away far apart from each other, were formerly members of an ethnical unity. Such, for instance, were the Gyalungs, now on the Chinese borders of Tibet, whose language isolated there presents such curious affinities with those of Formosa, of the Philippine Islands and also of the

¹ The relative isolation of the Chinese during a long period resulted from the fact that they were encircled by semi-Chinese or non-Chinese states which, receiving the outside communications or making them, produced the effect of buffers, through which the external influence had to pass before reaching the Middle Kingdom. We are kept in the dark about many of these communications by the disparition or the non-existence of records of the border states.

² Cf. T. de L., *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, passim.

king because of his craftiness.¹ Subsequently at the foot of the Lao mountain² lived a man and his wife who gave birth to ten daughters. Kiu-lung and his brothers respectively took them for wives, and their posterity was numerous. Their descendants used to tattoo and paint their bodies with figures of dragons and wore coats with tails.³ They multiplied extensively and branched off into numerous tribes and communities under the rule of smaller kings.

101. In A.D. 47 their King *Hien-lih*, who had with him six smaller kings, sent troops on bamboo rafts which floated southwards down the Kiang and Han rivers⁴ on the Chinese frontier against the *Luh-to*⁵ barbarians, who were easily subdued. But affairs changed for the worse, and in A.D. 51 Hien-lih and others led 2770 families of his tribe, comprising 17,659 individuals, to acknowledge the Chinese suzerainty and pay a yearly tribute. It was in the South West, however, that the Ngai Lao tribes had attained to the largest development, and that they had settled in the West of Yunnan, where their political existence was acknowledged as that of a feudatory state in A.D. 69.⁶ In 76-78 A.D. they rebelled and advanced eastwards against the advanced posts of the Chinese in S. Szetchuen, but they were attacked by the Kuen-ming tribes allied to the Chinese and compelled to keep quiet, their king being slain in the struggle. We hear no more of them in Chinese records and they entered largely into the formation of the Nan-tchao state of Yunnan. At a certain period of the disintegration of this kingdom,⁷ some

¹ This statement occurs in the extract from the *Hou Han Shu*, quoted in the *Tai ping yü lan* (a cyclopedia of 983 A.D.) bk. 786, f. 1-2. The Lung mountains here are most probably the Kiu lung range, which form the northern frontier of Szetchuen, and whose name is as usual connected with that of the people.

² The Lao mountain is identified with Kiueh ngan tang, Teh-ngan fu, in Hupeh, at the eastern extremity of the Kiu lung range mentioned in the previous note.

³ Like the Pan-hu race, who, however, did not tattoo; this practice was in use in the maritime provinces of Kiangsu, Tehchkiang, Fuhkien, and still among the Laocians and Burmese. The Annamites have given it up since A.D. 1293.

⁴ This statement shows that their or at least some of their central quarters were then in the Kiu lung mountains, as stated above.

⁵ Cf. *Lou-tai*, self name of the Pa-y shans. The Lok-tai of the Siamese, § 113.

⁶ Their general chief was Liu Mao, with 77 chieftains; they formed 51,890 families, comprising 553,711 persons.

⁷ Probably about 892 A.D.

of them moved southwards, and during more than four centuries (A.D. 1048-1427) they proved most obnoxious neighbours to the Annamites.¹ Their name and probably a portion of this population are still in existence west of the Annamese province of Thanh hoa.²

102. The foregoing information, lengthy as it is, was necessary to explain the actual standing of the Ngai-Lao in history, and as an instance of the fate of many other populations who have migrated in full or in part to the south, into the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The two words quoted in the legend which has grown out of them are the sole remnants we possess of their language. They are an attempt by themselves to explain in their own tongue a name of their mythical ruler which he had derived from the region where he was settled. This name was *Kiu-lung*, which, as I have shown elsewhere,³ is a variant of that of Kuenlun, and was applied by earlier populations to anything lofty. It has travelled far and wide, from Formosa to the Malay peninsula, with the migration of populations. The parentage of the Ngai-Lao is pretty well shown by all their particulars to be Taic, and the evidence of their language, so far as exhibited by the two words above quoted, confirms this plainly. *Kiu* 'back' is still existing in the Tsing Miao *kiau kie*, where *kiau* is the class-article; *lung* 'to sit' is the Tchung Miao *lang*, the Siamese *nang*, the Shan *nang*, with the same meaning. Besides this scanty data, we find some more in their later history, as we shall see directly.

103. Under the heading of NAN TCHAO 南詔,⁴ we have a few words casually quoted in the Chinese historical notices of this state of former Yunnan.

yuén, self royal pronoun (cf. Siamese *ku-eng*, I myself).

tchang, the servants as called by the king (cf. Siam.

tam, humble).

¹ Cf. P. J. B. Trüông-Vinh-ky, *Cours d'histoire Annamite* (Saïgon, 1875-1879, 12mo.), vol. i. pp. 58, 93, 96-98, 102, 105, 178, etc.

² *Hoang Viet dia du chi* (Official Geography of Annam, 1829), vol. ii. p. 19.

³ In *The Science of Language*, chiefly with reference to S.E. Asia (in the press).

⁴ Or 'Southern Prince.'

tsing ping, mandarins of the first rank (cf. Siam. *hsong*, to conduct; *p'ou*, army).

shwang, a territorial division.¹

shwang, land measure=5 *meu*, Chinese.

to *shwang*, governor of three provinces (cf. Siam. *tahan*, officer).

tsong-so, chief of 100 families (cf. Siam. *tang-chu*, an honorary title).

tchi jen kuan, chief of 1000 families.

tu to, chief of 10,000 families.

tsia-tu, one of the forty-six governors.

kien, circumscription (cf. Siam. *kwen*).

tchao, prince (cf. Siam. *tchao*).

shan p'o to, great peace (cf. Siam. *sangat*, quiet).

piao-sin, title assumed by the king in 800 A.D. (cf. Siam. *p'aya*, governor; *tan*, just; *san*, court of justice).

ta-yong, elder brother.

Ta-li, name of a large lake (cf. Siamese *t'a le*, sea) in Western Yunnan.

With due allowance for the ten or twelve centuries which have elapsed since these words have been written, and the limitation of the Chinese transcription, the glossarial affinities show the language to be thoroughly Taiic. The two ideological indices visible, 2 4, point to the same conclusion.

104. The social and political concentration and activity of the state of Nantchao, lasting several centuries, have been after the similar phenomena of the state of Ts'u in Central China, the most important factors of the remarkable unity of the Taiic family of languages. The *Nan tchao* was one of the six states, or *Luh tchao*, which existed in the west of Yunnan after the Christian era; five of them consisted of Lao or Laocian tribes, the sixth being Moso. They were successively subdued by one of them, Muong she tchao, which grew into a powerful state from the sixth to the end of the ninth century: though reduced in importance,

¹ Cf. however Siamese *sen*, a measure of 20 fathoms or 120 feet; while the *shwang* would be a measure of 735 yards.

and disturbed by the intermingling of tribes of other stocks, it lasted under the name of the Kingdom of Tali until its submission by the Mongols at the end of the thirteenth century.

XIII. THE PRE-CHINESE TAI-SHAN ABORIGINAL DIALECTS.

a) Unmixed and Mixed.

105. The dialect of the TSING MIAO 青苗 or 'Blue Miao,' who inhabit the centre and W. of Kueitchou,¹ is only known through a vocabulary of 195 words formerly compiled by Chinese in the south-west of the province.² From European sources we learn that their language in the prefecture of Kuei-yang has eight tones.³

The numerals, the pronouns, and a large proportion of the words show that this dialect belongs to the Mōn group. Determinative prefixes are largely used, such as *le-* for anything flat, *ti-* for anything pointed, *lun-* for round things, *te-* for animals. The ideological indices exemplified in the list of words are 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ 6 0.

106. A list of 90 words compiled by the Chinese is all that we possess of the dialect of the AN-SHUN MIAO 安順苗,⁴ namely, the Miao who inhabit the prefecture of An-shun in the centre west of the province of Kueitchou.

The affinities are Mōn-Tai, with a decided leaning towards the Tai, as shown by the numerals and the pronouns, which evidently belong to this family. As in all the other Miao vocabularies, there has been a not-unimportant absorption of Chinese and Lolo words. The use of determinative prefixes is revealed by the known *tu-* before the names of animals. Ideological indices, 2 4 6 0.

107. The TCHUNG-KIA TZE 狽家子, also TCHUNG MIAO,

¹ *Miao Man hoh tchi*, iv. 4.

² Extracted by Dr. J. Edkins, in his *Vocabulary of the Miao Dialects*, from the *Hing-y fu tchi*.

³ Rev. Brounson, in *China's Million*, 1883, p. 62.

⁴ In the *Hing-y fu tchi*, and translated by J. Edkins in his *Vocabulary of the Miao Dialects*.

The *Tu-jen* language, says the missionary, gradually mingles with those of the *Tchung-kia* and of the *Miao-tze*.

The construction is similar to that of the French, whence the indices 2 4 6 8 VI.

113. The PAI-Y¹ so called are now chiefly met in the south and west of Yunnan, where their name has become the generic appellative of the Shan tribes still living there. They are undoubtedly, with such transformations in race and language as have resulted from subsequent interminglings, the descendants of the old Pa 巴 people of Eastern Szetchuen and Western Hupeh, known to the Chinese since 1970 B.C., when 'a Chinese envoy was sent to them to preside over litigations.'² The link can be traced through ages, and has never been obliterated.

114. We know nothing of their original language, as no specimens have been preserved. We only know it from a recent document. It is a vocabulary compiled by the Chinese. The teaching of this language along with that of the *Pah peh sih fu*,³ another Shan dialect, was added, after 1644, to those previously taught⁴ at the Translatorial

¹ Their name is variously written in Chinese now-a-days 擺伊, 百彝, 北彝, 焚夷, 白夷, etc. It ought to be written 巴夷.

² *Tchuh shu k'i nien*, Ti k'i, 8th year.

³ 八百媳婦, lit. 'eight hundred wives,' so called, say the Chinese, from the fact that their *Tu-yu* chief had this number of wives, each of them having a separate encampment. They use to tattoo flowers and birds between the eyebrows (cf. Luh Tze-yun, *T'ung k'i sien tchi*, f. 7v). The legend may have resulted from the name, in its Chinese form, and this form may have been a play made by the Chinese in transcribing a foreign name. Mr. Ney Elias, in his *Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans in Upper Burma and Western Yunnan*, Calcutta, 1876, p. 3, supposes them to be Karen, but the specimen of their language which has come to us, along with that of the Pai-y, goes against this view, as it is that of a Shan dialect. The following list shows it plainly: *fa*, heaven; *mo*, cloud; *lie*, sun; *leng*, moon; *huan*, smoke; *faling*, cloud's colour; *falang*, thunder; *fen*, rain; *naotchanglung*, polar star; *nao*, star; *luklie*, hail; *lun*, wind; *famie*, lightning; *mokoun*, cloud; *meiung*, snow; *meikan*, ice; *nankang*, dew; *mei*, hoar frost; *lang*, rainbow; *nam*, water; *menam*, river; *menamfa*, river of heaven or milky way; *se*, spirit; *pi*, devil; *lai*, mountain; *lin*, stone; *na*, field; *pahmai*, forest; *nung*, sea; *lin*, earth; *menamkung*, lake; *pulatchao*, king; *pi*, elder brother; *mong*, younger brother; *luk*, son; *lu*, head; *na*, face; *du*, eyes; *leng*, red; *lu om*, blue; *hien teng*, green; *tchau*, white; *dan*, black; *ngo*, go out; *mao*, go in; *mi*, have; *mau mi*, not to have, etc.

⁴ These were the Jutchih, Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Bokharan, Uigur, Burman, and Siamese. Cf. Abel de Rémusat, *De l'Etude des langues étrangères chez les Chinois*, Paris, 1811, p. 9 sq.; and Terrien de Lacouperie, *Beginnings of Writing*, §§ 109, n. 3, and 175.

Office (of Peking), which had been established under the Ming dynasty in 1407 A.D. About 1696, by order of the great Emperor Sheng tsu Jen, or K'ang hi, a large work in sixteen or seventeen volumes was published, giving the vocabularies of eight of these languages, leaving aside the Jutchih and the Mongolian. Père Amiot, the celebrated Jesuit at Peking, obtained a copy of this work, which he sent to Paris, with a Latin translation and a transcription of the vocabularies from the Chinese, written with his own hand next to each word. It is from this work¹ that the little we know of the Pai-y and Pah peh si-fuh dialects is derived.

115. The following list of Pai-y words shows the Shan character of the language,² and its close connection with that of the other dialect we have just mentioned: *fa*, sky; *mo*, cloud; *kangman*, sun; *leng*, moon; *lun*, wind; *lik*, hail; *fen*, rain; *falang*, thunder; *naotchang*, polar star; *nao*, star; *huan*, smoke; *molien*, clouds' colour; *famiah*, lightning; *lung*, rainbow; *la*, snow; *mei*, dew; *mokung*, clouds; *nai*, you; *ku*, I; *meng*, thou; *men*, he; *po*, father; *ao*, father's elder brother; *luk tchai*, son; *nong tchai*, younger brother; *pi ning*, elder sister; *nong ning*, elder sister's husband; *hu*, head; *nu*, face; *t'ai*, eyes; *lu*, ears; *su*, mouth; *ting*, foot; *han*, gold; *ngen*, silver; *t'ung*, copper; *lyek*, iron; *hien-nai*, green; *pa*, white; *lien*, black; *lan*, wine; *kin k'ao*, eat rice; *yang*, have; *umyang*, not to have; *kanna*, before; *kanlang*, after; *kanseh*, left; *kanhoa*, right; *kanneng*, above; *kantao*, below, etc.

The above list exhibits all the well-known characteristics of the Tai-shan languages, i.e. a large proportion of Mōn and Kuenlunic words, especially of Chinese. But the only ideological indices illustrated are 2 4 6.³ The Pai-y have a writing of their own, apparently connected with the old Ahom character. A MS. on slips of wood has lately reached the British Museum.

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 986.

² Abel Remusat was mistaken when he stated (o.c. p. 12) that "les *Pr-i* et *Pa-pe-tsi-fou* sont des dialectes plus ou moins corrompus de la langue parlée des Chinois."

³ Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, § 175.

116. Numerous tribes of the Tai-shan race have migrated early out of the present S. W. boundaries of the Chinese empire. Their first chief seat was at Muanglong, on the Shweili river, near the modern borders of Yunnan S. W., under the command of a leader named K'ullyi. This fact, which is recorded in a Shan chronicle preserved in Manipur, coincides in a most remarkable manner with the southern advance of the Ngai-Lao in the first century before 77 A. D., reported in the Chinese annals of the After Han dynasty.¹ We cannot follow them in their subsequent development into numerous states, important and unimportant, in the Indo-Chinese peninsula;² the kingdom of Siam being now the most important.

117. Notwithstanding their political divisions, they all, Shans, Laocians, and Siamese, speak one and the same language divided into several dialects slightly divergent one from the other. We cannot enter here into the description of their similarities and differences, as we should trespass the limits assigned to our work. It will be sufficient to remind our readers that all the probabilities, the amount of which is nearly equivalent to a certainty, show that the Tai-Shan linguistic formation has taken place in historical times in Pre-China. It has evolved from the intermingling of southern languages belonging chiefly, though not exclusively, to the Mōn type, with Chinese and other languages of the Kuenlun family. The mental crudeness of the former has permitted them to preserve their ideology, and even to impose it partially on several of the Kuenlun languages, such as the Chinese and the Karengs. The Tai-Shan vocabulary is thoroughly mixed, to such an extent that one-third of its words are common with the ancient words

¹ *Hou Han Shu*, bk. cxvi. Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, pp. 37, 52; Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 12; the *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i. pp. 173-176 (Rangoon, 1880, 4to.).

² Cf. Ney Elias, *Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans in Upper Burma and Western Yunnan*, Calcutta, 1876. And besides, Dr. J. Anderson's *Report on the Expedition to Western Yunnan*, Calcutta, 1871; cf. also Mr. Holt S. Hallett's *Historical Sketch of the Shans*, pp. 327-371 of A. R. Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans*, London, 1885. For a classification of these languages, cf. below, §§ 223, 226.

of the Mandarin Chinese.¹ It has given up its former numerals, keeping only, as usual in such case, the words for one and two, and has adopted the Kuenlun numerals.² The language has developed tones originally as a compensation by natural equilibrium to the phonetic losses undergone in the everlasting process of intermingling.³ Both the Siamese and Shan languages have been the object of serious works, such as grammars and dictionaries, which now permit their scientific study.⁴ Their ideological standard

¹ Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *On the History of the Archaic Writing and Texts*, London, 1882, p. 8, and *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* vol. xiv. p. 803. I was not aware then that in 1867 Dr. Schönn had published at Stettin (8vo. 24 pp.), *Das Siamesische und das Chinesische*, a pamphlet in which he points out a certain number of glossarial affinities between the Mandarin and Hokkien Chinese dialects and the Siamese. But to be effective, the comparison must bear on the ancient forms of the Chinese words, and not on the modern decayed forms. The archaisms of the Chinese dialects of the S. W. (Amoy, Hokkien) have misled Dr. Forchhammer, of Rangoon, in his *Notes on the Languages and Dialects Spoken in British Burma* (1884), pp. 5-6, to the exaggerated supposition that these dialects present a larger number of Shan affinities than the Chinese dialects of the North. I have just seen in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i. p. 176, a footnote by the Rev. J. N. Cushing, in which he states having recognized many Chinese affinities in the old Chinese words. Cf. also § 55 of the present work.

² These similarities, which are the result of intermingling and reciprocal loans, have misguided many scholars to the wrong view that Chinese and Siamese were originally cognate. History and grammar show this hypothesis to be baseless. The author of *The Relation of Chinese to Siamese and Cognate Dialects*, in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. x. pp. 276-280, 454-460, has misunderstood the question at issue.

³ On this question of tones, cf. §§ 237, 238 below, and the works referred to. The Siamese tones have been studied by the Rev. J. Caswell, in a special *Treatise* published in the *Siam Repository*. The Shan tones are carefully described by the Rev. J. N. Cushing in his *Shan Grammar*. Dr. A. Bastian, in his interesting remarks on the *Indo-Chinese Alphabets* (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1867), says: "The chief, and almost the only difference between the spoken tongues of the Laos and of the Siamese consists in the circumstance that the former know nothing of the tones--the artificial display of which constitutes the delight of a Siamese speaker" (p. 71). In which case the Laocians would be like the people of Ligor, otherwise Nakhon-sri-Thammarat or Muang Lakhon, who speak Siamese with an even delivery, without any regard to the tonic accents, or like the Japanese with regard to the Chinese words they have adopted. But Dr. Bastian stands alone in this respect. The Rev. J. N. Cushing, who, with his usual accuracy, could not help making this remark, says nothing about such a striking peculiarity. Francis Garnier says (*Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine*, ii. p. 495) that a Siamese individual makes himself understood without trouble wherever Laocian is spoken, and *vice versa*. Should the German scholar refer only to the written characters, he would be right, as the alphabets used by the Laocians have no tonic marks, nor has the Shan alphabet any, while the latter Siamese alphabet is fully well up in this respect.

⁴ The best Siamese grammar is that of J. T. Jones, *Grammar of the Siamese Language*, Bangkok, 1842. Also James Low's *Grammar of the Thai or Siamese Language*, Calcutta, 1828, 4to.; D. J. B. Pallegoix, *Grammatica linguae Thai*, Bangkok, 1850, 4to.; L. Ewald, *Grammatik der Thai oder Siamesischen Sprache*,

loose names, indefinite Chinese expressions, mostly contemptuous, and altogether devoid of any ethnological significance. They were not so loose at the beginning, and real distinctions of ethnic stocks were meant by them, but the subsequent interminglings of race, and the ignorance of the Chinese compilers and travellers, have caused the present confusion.

183. Many names are not genuine names of tribes, and consist only in qualificatives of a prominent characteristic in customs, costume, etc., singled out by the original author of the report, or simply of their geographical location. The same tribe described by another traveller has often received another soubriquet, and afterwards has been inscribed in the later works as a different tribe. So that tribes of one and the same stock have received different names in different places from different people, while different tribes of various stocks have received identical surnames. Such an onomastic exemplification is not calculated to facilitate the elucidation of the intricate problems of ethnology involved in the history of the population of the Middle Kingdom.

184. Those of the native names which are genuine are not, however, always recognisable. They appear in a Chinese dress, generally distorted to suit the limited capacities of Chinese orthoepy, and most often have a Sinicised signification imparted contemptuously to them by the composition of the Chinese symbols employed for their transcription.

185. A few names at the beginning of history have escaped the scornful stigma. They are mostly those of the tribes whose power and proximity or interlocation of settlements with those of the haughty Chinese, still weak and unimportant, had compelled them to respect, such, for instance, as those of the

Jung 戎, whose meanings of 'weapon,' 'war-chariot,' were soon extended to that of 'warrior.'¹

¹ In the quaint Ku-wen spelling it is written 午 NGU 'a club,' placed under 戊, Mou 'an axe'? (cf. Min Tsi kih, *Luh shu hung*, bk. i. f. 11). The same word was written later on with other symbols, somewhat similar in shape to the former ones, but not expressive of sound, and purely ideographical, i.e. 甲 *kia* 'a

Y 夷, the 'Great-Bow man,' so translated from the composition of the symbol, said to be made of 大 *ta* 'great,' and 弓 *kung* 'a bow'; but this composition is not old, and originally the symbol was written differently.¹

These names, like those of the *Lai*, *Lu*, *Lo*, etc., probably one of the native terms for 'man,' written with indifferent characters which have no contemptuous meaning, are only a few of a longer list.

186. But still longer is the list of the written names of a contemptuous meaning, generally resulting from the notation of the native appellatives, written with a selected Chinese symbol having a meaning of 'animal,' a system objectionable for the Chinese themselves, as exemplified in the following:

馬 *Ma* 'horse.'

蠻 *Mán* 'ungovernable vermin,' a general name for the southern non-Chinese tribes.

閩 *Mín* 'a sort of serpent,' in Fuhkien, etc.

苗 *Miao*² 'cat,' the central aborigines.

shield,' under 戈 *kwo* 'a spear,' as explained in the *Shwohwen*, which refers only to the Siao tchuen or Small Seal characters. Cf. Dr. J. Chalmers, *The Structure of Chinese Characters after the Shwohwen*, p. 51, and above, § 60, n. 1.

¹ In Kuwen it is written 上 *Tüong* or *Shang* 'high,' under 尸 *T'i* or *Shi* 'a lying body,' suggesting a word like Tit, Tish, Shit, Shish. Something has remained in the Sinico-Annamite sound *dzi*. Another Ku-wen form of the same modern character, and corresponding probably to its actual meaning of 'pacific,' was written 尸 *shi*, placed over 二 *ni*, or *shi-ni*, which perhaps was connected as a collateral antecedent with the modern colloquial expression *Sih-nu* (息怒).

² As in *Tsing Miao*, *Heh Miao*, etc., i.e. 'Blue Miao,' 'Black Miao,' etc., and also in 'Miao-tze' 苗子, the famous 'sons of the soil' of the ancient Sinologists, whose error still lingers in all the books concerning China. This wrongful interpretation is an interesting instance of graphical mythology not unfrequent in Chinese proper names and historical legends. The ancient interpreters have been misled by the analysis (always dangerous in modern style) of the modern character 苗, which they have supposed to have been originally composed of 艹 'grass' and 田 'field,' while they, at the same time, have taken 子 with its meaning of 'son,' 'child.' Both of these handy hypotheses are worthless. *Miao* 苗, so written in the Small Seal or *Siao tchuen* style of writing, was an imitation of an old pictorial character figuring the head of a cat, and meaning 'cat,' now written 猫. *Tze* 子 is only an enclitic of appellatives. As to the reason which caused the selection of *Miao* 苗 for the rendering of the name of these tribes, we may assume that it was twofold: their strongly vocalic language, which the Chinese could not understand, was to them like the mewing of cats, and they called them-

- 巴 *Pa* 'huge serpent,' in Szetchuen.
 蜀 *Shu(k* 'silk worm,' also in Szetchuen.
 獼 *Lo-lo* 'squirrel.'
 烏 *Wu* 'crow.'
 龍 *Lung* 'dragon.'
 狄 *Ti(k*¹ 'fiery dog,' the northern barbarians.
 𩺰 *Ti* 'sort of fish,' west of Szetchuen.
 獒 *Ngao* 'large dog,' the Tibetan mastiff.

And many others.

Some of these appellatives can still be deprived of their contumelious garb, such as *ngao* 'tall,' 'proud,' without the 'dog' determinative; *ti* 'deep root,' without the 'fish' determinative. Other curious instances of distortion, at least in writing, are those of the tribes self-named *Yao*, written 徭 'serf'; *Pu(k*, written 僕 'slave'; *Shuk* 'man,' written 'silk-worm,' as above, and others.

XXI. GRADUAL RETREAT OF THE PRE-CHINESE.

187. The aboriginal tribes, of the Flowery Land, with whom the Chinese Bak tribes, advancing through the modern Kansuh to South Shensi, fell into contact, did not receive them all in the same way. Some were friendly from the beginning, others objected to their advance, and the same thing occurred over and over again in the course of their history. Small and unimportant at first, the Chinese had no other superiority than that of their civilization. In their advance they had to make their way through the native settlements, either by amicable arrangements and interminglings, or, in case of need, by war and conquest, with the help of the friendly tribes. They used to establish advanced posts and military settlements, around which their colonists could take shelter when required by the hostile dispositions of the native populations among which they were interspersed. As a rule, in the history of their growth and development,

selves *Mro* 'the people,' or 'the tribe,' a term still used in Indo-China, and which the limited orthodoxy of the Chinese did not permit them to render otherwise.

¹ *Ti(k* was not at first a contemptuous appellative. Cf. *suprà*, § 167, n. 2

the advance of their dominion was preceded by the settlements, always increasing, of colonists in the coveted region. It was their constant practice to drive away their lawless people, outcasts and criminals, who with the malcontents and the travelling merchants paved the way to the future official extension. The non-Chinese communities and states were in this way always gradually saturated with Chinese blood. This policy was never long departed from, even when in later times their power was sufficiently effective to permit a more effective way of bringing matters to a short conclusion.

188. Under the pressure of the Chinese growth by slow infiltration or open advance, the Pre-Chinese populations gradually retreated southwards; some of them were absorbed by intermingling; others, satisfied with the Chinese yoke, lost slowly their individuality, and formed part of the Chinese nation. Others were entrapped to the same end by the insidious process of the Chinese government, which, bestowing on their chiefs titles of nobility and badges of office, thus made them, sometimes against their secret will, Chinese officials. Light taxes and a nominal recognition of the Chinese suzerainty were only required from them as long as the government of the Middle Kingdom did not feel itself strong enough to ask more and overcome any possible resistance. But those of the Pre-Chinese who objected altogether to the Chinese dominion were thus gradually compelled to migrate away, either of their own will and where they chose and could, or, as was the case in later times, in such provinces or regions left unoccupied by the Chinese for that very purpose. Numerous were the tribes who were gradually led to migrate out of China altogether, as we have had many occasions to show in the course of this work.¹

189. The gradual submission of the Pre-Chinese was a very long affair, which began with the arrival of the

¹ Cf. above, §§ 19, 66, 90, 91, 101, 102, 116, 117, 127, 129-144, 146, 154, 160, 161, 164, 167, 172. Also my Introduction to *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, and my *Formosa Notes* (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1887).

Chinese Bak tribes, and has not yet come to an end, though the finish is not far at hand. For long the Chinese dominion was very small, and later on, when very large on the maps and in appearance, it was, as a matter of fact, effective only on a much smaller area. The advanced posts on the borders of the real Chinese domain used to give their names to regions sometimes entirely unsubdued, though the reverse has long seemed to be the case, because all the necessary intercourse between the independent populations and the Chinese government passed through the Chinese officials of these posts, specially appointed with great titles of office, for that purpose.

190. We cannot here enter into the history of the resistance made by the Pre-Chinese against the successive encroachments and gradual advance of the Chinese. We must be satisfied with a mere glance at the names of the most important of their states and political agglomerations, or temporary confederations of chieftains and centres of resistance, with which the Chinese had to contest by astuteness, or sheer force of arms, for conquest or self-defence.

191. Advancing eastwards the Early Chinese had met among others:

The *Tsao* and *Wei*, two states of Jungs, around the great southern bend of the Hoang-ho, which offered a strong resistance, and were subdued in 2070 B.C.

The *Yu-kwei*, on the north bank of the same river, in the north-west of modern Kai-fung fu, who had yielded earlier.

The *Lai*, in the Shantung peninsula, who remained independent, or at least non-Chinese, until the time of She Hwang-ti (third century B.C.); this people deserves some attention, as they were great traders, and their sea-port Tsih-moh was for long the channel through which much has been introduced into the Chinese states, from the sea-trade with the south, during the Tchou dynasty, and perhaps before that time.¹

The *Yao*, *T'ao*, *T'ang*, *Yü*, etc., were all names of native

¹ On the early knife money of Tsih-moh, cf. T. de Lacouperie, *The Coins and Medals of China in the British Museum*, etc., vol. i. pp. 213-225.

states or regions which were assumed as princely titles by the early Chinese leaders Yao and Shun during their gradual advance.

192. In the south-east:

The states of *Fang Fung* and *Hwei-ki*, north of the mouth of the Yang-tze kiang, against which the great Yü undertook his memorable expedition, from which he never came back (§ 23).

The *Ngu* or *Wu*, already mentioned § 34 above; 1200-472 B.C., conquered by Yueh (§§ 28, 34-36).

Yueh (Tchekkiang and Kiangnan); — ?— 601 B.C.-334 B.C., conquered by Ts'u.

Min-yueh (E. Fuhkien), — ?— 402 B.C., conquered by the Chinese 126 B.C. and given up by them in 105 B.C.

Tung Ngou, in W. Tchekkiang and W. Fuhkien, absorbed by Nan-yueh after 204 B.C.

193. In the centre and the west:

The *San Miao*, in E. Honan, and southwards to the Tung ting and Po-yang lakes. At first defeated by the Chinese under Shun, who banished some of their leaders in the N.W. (§ 130), they afterwards took their revenge, and routed the army which, under the command of the Great Yü, had been sent against them. Eventually they became friendly for a time, and their bulk retreated gradually in the course of centuries.

West of these were the *Pong*, also Pan-hu (§§ 66 sq.), whose state north of Szetchuen and of Hupeh was an ally and a strong help to the newly-arrived Chinese (since the twenty-second century B.C.) until the thirteenth century, when Wu-ting fought against them (circ. 1231 B.C.), and the overthrow of the Shang-Yin dynasty by Wu Wang, the founder of the Tchou dynasty, whose party they had followed in the struggle, circa 1050 B.C. They were the ancestors of the *Ngu* and *Y* of the East (§§ 34-36). After the dissolution of the great non-Chinese state of *Ts'u* (circ. 1200-223 B.C.), mentioned above (§§ 31-33, 96-98), by which they had been swallowed up, and their nominal submission by She Hwang-ti, the founder of the Chinese Empire, they rebelled in 48 A.D., 221 A.D., etc., and were so strong

that, in 475 A.D., their ruler was recognized as king of Siang-yang, by the Chinese Emperor, over a large territory extending northwards unto the Yellow River in Honan. This state was finally overthrown by the T'ang dynasty; its population being partly absorbed, partly expelled in the S.W.

West of the Pongs were the *Pa*, known to the Chinese since the twentieth century, and which with other tribes, ancestors of the Tai-Shan, were occupying the greater part of E. Szetchuen and W. Hupeh, until they recognized the suzerainty of the Ts'in state, then growing to the Empire (third century B.C.). They transferred their allegiance to the Han dynasty, and subsequently rose into rebellion in 47 and 101 A.D., which led to their submission. But the E. Szetchuen was not made part of the Empire before 1070 A.D.

West of the preceding were the *Ti* and *Kiang*, the latter being Tibetan, or better Si-fan, tribes (§§ 173-179), with whom the Chinese were acquainted in 1240 B.C.

The *Liao* in N. Szetchuen (§§ 81-83) recognized in the fifth and sixth centuries the supremacy of the Wei and Liang dynasties, but they fought against the great T'ang dynasty, and their submission was only nominal. Similar to this was the position of the

Nan ping Man, in Kueitchou and Szetchuen, who paid tribute to the T'ang after 629 A.D., and of the

Ngo of Tchungtchou, N. Kueitchou, a people of high stature, large eyes, white teeth, and swarthy (*i.e.* not yellow) complexion. Some tribes of the same race, called *Pan-tun Man*,¹ and others occupying Yelang, spread over the central region, connecting Szetchuen, Yünnan, Kueitchou, and Hukwang, had paid tribute to the Sung small dynasty in the fifth century.

¹ They had been so called for forty generations (*i.e.* 1200 years?) before the Han period, which would imply 1400 B.C. In Eastern Szetchuen "the bulk of their tribes, according to the *Hon Han shu*, bk. 116, were vigorous and brave. At first they were several times subjected by the precursors of the Han, when they practised their national customs, delighting in singing and dancing. When Kao-tsu (the first Emperor of the Han dynasty, 206-195 B.C.) saw them, he said, 'This is the song of Wu-wang's defeat of the tyrant Tchou-sin (B.C. 1050).' The latter was the last ruler of the Shang-yu dynasty, and Wu-wang was the founder of the Tchou dynasty. Tu-yu (A.D. 222-284), in his *T'ung tien*, did not reproduce this interesting passage, which does not appear either in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*, which was compiled with the *T'ung tien* as basis.

The *Kin-tchuen* Si-fan (not Miao-tze, as wrongly stated in the Chinese report), on the upper course of the Tung river in W. Szetchuen, were reduced only in 1775, after a most severe struggle and bloody contest.

194. In the south the

Nan-yueh, with its centre at Pan-yü (Canton), from 204 to 111 B.C., under five rulers, including Tung Ngou (*i.e.* W. Tchekkiang), Fuhkien, Kuangtung, S. Kuangsi, and a part of Tungking, all along the coasts, until it was partially (Kuangtung) subdued.

Nan tan tchou Man, the state ruled by the *Moh* family, in N.W. Kuangsi, from 974 until 1212 A.D., when nominally subdued.

Si-yuen Man, in Kuangsi, still independent in 1085.

195. In the south-west:

The *Tsen* state in central Yunnan and the S.W., an offshoot of the state of Ts'u, from 330 B.C., followed by

The *Ngai-Lao* (§§ 99 sq.), who, coming from the North, developed into

The *Luh tchao* (§ 104), or six principalities which became the powerful state of

Nan-tchao (§ 103), A.D. 629-860, afterwards the smaller one of

Ta-li, until 1275 A.D., when it was subdued by the Mongol conquest.

East of these were the

Tsuan Man, in E. Yunnan and W. Kueitchou, from A.D. 9 to 778, when they were absorbed by the Nantchao for some time; they were still unsubdued in 1127 A.D. (§ 154).

Tung Sie, in S. Szetchuen,

Si Tchao, in W. Yunnan, and

Tsangko, in E. Yunnan, acknowledged the Chinese suzerainty in the ninth century.

The *Lolo* or *Laka* (§§ 152-155) are still independent in the Liang shan valley, S. Szetchuen.

Many tribes of S.W. Hunan and N. Kuangsi were subdued and driven into Kueitchou during the Yung-tcheng period (1723-1735 A.D.). Since the time of the T'ang dynasty,